

DCI

MEETING WITH SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

15 December 1982

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SA/DCI/IA

 **SECRET**

MEETING WITH SECRETARY WEINBERGER

15 December 1982

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SECRET

14 December 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence  
FROM: SA/DCI/IA  
SUBJECT: Meeting with Secretary Weinberger,  
15 December 1982

1. As you know, Weinberger requested that your meeting this week be held tomorrow vice Friday. I get the sense that he has something specific on his mind, but you know better than any of the rest of us.

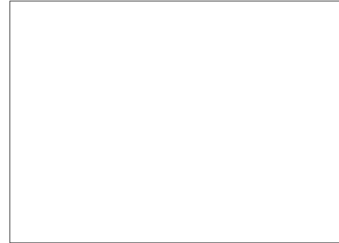
2. The following subjects have been proposed for your meeting tomorrow morning:

- MX/Dense Pack. I understand you had an extensive discussion of this on Friday but you may wish to take it up again. I was told that Weinberger testified today before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Perhaps more important, I hear rumors of a compromise deal on the Hill which would involve a continuing resolution into next year. If any deal has been struck today, the morning papers probably will report it.
- Central America. You may wish to inform Weinberger and Carlucci of the results of your appearance before the HPSCI today. If appropriate and still germane, you may wish to discuss further reactions to the Boland Amendment.
- Counterintelligence. Given Stilwell's appearance with you at the SSCI hearing on Thursday, you may wish to inform Weinberger and Carlucci of how you plan to approach your testimony.
- INF. In light of tomorrow afternoon's close-hold NSC meeting, you may wish to discuss any thoughts you have on the issues of concern.
- Suriname. You may wish to inform Weinberger and Carlucci also that we have reports of growing opposition in Suriname's military establishment as a result of the executions.

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3. The above is not a very inspiring agenda, and you may have other issues you are planning to raise. Please let me know if there is any additional material I can get for you.



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A

New York Times, 14 December 1982

# Senators Pursuing a Delicate MX Compromise

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 13 — Senate leaders are drafting a compromise that would give President Reagan the money he wants for building the MX missile but would also place severe restrictions on his ability to spend it.

The details are unclear, but key Senators say there is a growing consensus behind a proposal that would bar the President from actually buying the missiles if both houses of Congress disapproved his plan for a base.

Mr. Reagan has indicated his willingness to discuss alternative methods of basing the MX, and while the White House has yet to give its consent, Senate sources believe that the President will reluctantly accept what the lawmakers put together.

## Senators Hopeful of Compromise

Such a compromise, it is felt, would survive negotiations with the House, which has rejected the \$988 million appropriation for the missile, in an eventual conference committee of the two houses.

This unusual procedure reflects a widespread belief on Capitol Hill that the Reagan Administration's current basing plan, to crowd 100 missiles into a 20-square-mile tract near Cheyenne, Wyo., makes little sense and would not survive enemy attack. The plan for closely spaced basing, called "dense pack," is based on the theory that incoming Soviet missiles would destroy one another as they try to reach their targets.

"I'm not for dense pack," said Senator William S. Cohen of Maine, an influential Republican on the Armed Services Committee. "And if the Administration continues to push dense pack

they'll lose the whole thing."

The House voted last week to eliminate \$988 million from the military appropriations bill earmarked for production of the first five MXes. The letters stand for missile experimental. President Reagan reacted angrily to the House action, and vowed to fight for the missile system in the Senate.

According to Representative Joseph P. Addabbo, the Queens Democrat who led the fight against the missile in the House, no Senator is willing to offer an amendment that follows the House lead and simply eliminates the money for the missile. "No one wants a confrontation with the President," he said.

At the same time, most Senators seem unwilling to go along completely with the President and give him the \$988 million with no strings. Hence the move for a compromise, which would allow the President to claim some sort of a victory, while tying his hands.

"What we work out, they'll approve," said Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, a senior Democrat on the Armed Services Committee.

For now, Representative Addabbo calls the proposed compromise "political gimmickry," explaining, "All it does is give the President a political victory." But the Queens Democrat has demonstrated his ability to count votes, and the odds are that when the issue comes up in a House-Senate conference on the bill, Representative Addabbo will accept the compromise.

Much depends, however, on how the compromise is worded. The White

House and its Senate allies, led by Senator John Tower, Republican of Texas, would like a provision that, in effect, would allow the Republican-controlled Senate to approve the basing system on its own, no matter what the Democratic-controlled House should do. But most lawmakers are holding out for a provision that would require the approval of the system by both houses.

As Sam Nunn, Democrat of Georgia, put it: "When you're spending \$30 or \$40 billion on a weapons system, you ought to have positive, affirmative approval by both houses of Congress in a reasonable time frame."

# Reagan seeks OK on MX with basing decision later

By Jeremiah O'Leary  
WASHINGTON TIMES STAFF

President Reagan, lowering his sights on the controversial MX missile program, is now willing to settle for congressional approval of the weapon itself while putting off the question of how to base the MX until next year.

He told the nation in his weekly radio broadcast Saturday, "The basing mode is not an issue. There's plenty of time to decide on that. What we need now is a clear, positive vote on the missile itself, to go forward on production of the missile."

Facing the political reality that his dense-pack basing plan is difficult to sell even to his congressional supporters and, for now, wholly unacceptable to his foes, Reagan is prepared to salvage the best he can get. That means that the president hopes the Senate this week will permit him to go ahead with production of a few of the MX missiles and that he can use the basing decision delay as a compromise to secure House approval.

Having lost by a vote of 245 to 176 last week on the House bill to provide \$988 million for the first five MXs, Reagan now hopes for Senate approval of production funds alone this week, setting aside the basing mode until the next session of Congress. The special or lame-duck session of Congress ends Friday. It is far from certain that this presidential retrenchment will save the MX even in the GOP-dominated Senate, or if it does, whether the Democratic-controlled House can or will reverse itself before leaving town for the Christmas holidays.

This was much the same message Reagan conveyed in his impromptu news conference in the Oval Office on Friday and that Reagan's advisers are propounding to members of Congress in these final five days of the special session.

"In the weeks ahead, we'll continue to bring the facts to you, the American people, and your repre-

sentatives on this vital issue," Reagan said in his broadcast. "We've already done it in the hearings before the Senate. I only wish the House had given us the opportunity to do the same before it voted last Tuesday to cut funds for the Peacekeeper missile. It's hard to make a good decision before you've heard the facts. And in my opinion the House of Representatives voted without really considering the facts."

While it is clear that the fate of the MX hangs in the balance, it also is obvious that the administration was unprepared for the crushing impact of the testimony that even the joint chiefs of staff were initially opposed, 3 to 2, to the dense-pack basing mode. The candid testimony of joint chiefs chairman John W. Vessey Jr. was devastating and so was the statement by Sen. Henry Jackson, D-Wash., that the basing mode was perceived by the public as a Rule Goldberg contraption.

But Jackson has since taken part in White House discussions with key senators of both parties on ways of "fencing off" the basing issue until later. Even Sen. Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C., praised Reagan's press conference statements as "conciliatory."

But Hollings, the Democrat designated to respond to the radio speech, hardened his rhetoric Saturday, declaring: "Three of the four military service chiefs tell you the \$40 billion MX program is a bad idea and still you plunge ahead." And Hollings said in a statement released before the president went on the air:

"I know you didn't set out to become the biggest spender of all time, Mr. President, but your blind stubbornness, trying to have it all at once, has brought you there."

Hollings, who has presidential ambitions in 1984, was giving the president some of his own medicine on the MX. Reagan was just as contemptuous in his 1980 campaign against President Carter's race-track concept for the MX as many members of Congress are of dense-pack.

Reagan noted in his radio talk that Congress had ordered his administration to submit a basing by Dec. 1.

The administration faces a rough and complex road ahead on the MX. Not only is the costly system considered by many opponents as a major element in the soaring deficit, it also is difficult to comprehend how putting all the MX missiles together near Cheyenne, Wyo., would make it more difficult for the Soviet Union to knock them out in a first strike.

Scientists may understand the principle of "fratricide" — that the

first Soviet missiles will trigger the following ones harmlessly in the air — but laymen do not.

And Congress already has ruled out hardening the existing Minuteman silos scattered around the West. Race track, the plan to keep the MX moving on rails in a huge oval Western states, is dead.

And Reagan's strategic arms negotiators talking with the Russians have good reason to fear that the land-based element of the land, sea and air strategic "triad" may disappear as a deterrent.

Reagan is compromising because he had to, but even this may not save the MX program.

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UP098

MX-REPEAT 12-14

REPEATING UP049, UP050, UP056:

MX-1ST ADD (UP047)

REAGAN APPEARED BEFORE REPORTERS IN THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS ROOM AFTER MEETING WITH REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC SENATORS IN AN EFFORT TO SAVE THE MX AFTER HOUSE REJECTION LAST WEEK OF \$988 MILLION IN PRODUCTION FUNDS.

"I'M PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE THAT WE'VE REACHED A BIPARTISAN AGREEMENT THAT WE HOPE WILL PRESERVE FUNDING FOR THE THE MISSILE AND ENABLE US TO CONTINUE THE RESTORATION OF AMERICA'S DEFENSE CAPABILITIES," REAGAN SAID.

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MX-2ND ADD

FLANKED BY MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE GOP LEADERSHIP, REAGAN SAID IT HAS "BECOME APPARENT" THAT MANY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS SUPPORT THE MISSILE ITSELF BUT HAVE DUALNS ABOUT THE "DENSE PACK" BASING MODE HE RECOMMENDED NOV. 2.

"THE AGREEMENT WE'VE REACHED TODAY IS A REASONABLE BALANCING OF THOSE INTERESTS," HE SAID.

UNDER TERMS OF THE COMPROMISE, OUTLINED BY SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN JOHN TOWER, R-TEXAS, CONGRESS WOULD APPROVE THE \$988 MILLION REAGAN HAS REQUESTED, BUT TIE ITS ACTUAL USE TO APPROVAL OF A BASING MODE.

THE PRESIDENT WOULD BE REQUIRED TO RESUBMIT HIS CERTIFICATION OF A BASING MODE -- NOT NECESSARILY DENSE PACK -- AS WELL AS INFORMATION ON ALTERNATIVE SCHEMES. CONGRESS WOULD HAVE 45 DAYS TO APPROVE REAGAN'S RECOMMENDATIONS OR AN ALTERNATIVE PLAN.

THE DEPLOYMENT PLAN WOULD HAVE TO BE APPROVED BY THE HOUSE AND SENATE.

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MX-3RD ADD

"THE UNITED STATES MUST MOVE FORWARD WITH AN EFFECTIVE LAND-BASED MISSILE -- ONE THAT WILL NOT ONLY ENHANCE THE PROSPECTS FOR A SECURE AMERICA, BUT WILL ALSO STRENGTHEN THE HAND OF OUR NEGOTIATORS AT THE...ARMS CONTROL TALKS IN GENEVA," REAGAN SAID.

WHITE HOUSE AIDES DID NOT DISCLOSE WHICH SENATE DEMOCRATS HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH WERE UNDERTAKEN IN RESPONSE TO SERIOUS OPPOSITION TO REAGAN'S PLAN TO DEPLOY 100 MX MISSILES IN CLOSELY SPACED SILOS IN WYOMING.

NO DEMOCRATS APPEARED WITH REAGAN AT HIS HASTILY CALLED NEWS CONFERENCE.

THE PRESIDENT STOPPED SHORT OF DECLARING DENSE PACK DEAD, AS SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN CHARLES PERCY, R-ILL., HAD DONE ONE DAY EARLIER, BUT SIGNED HIS WILLINGNESS TO LEAVE THE DECISION TO CONGRESS.

HE NOTED CONGRESS REJECTED HIS INITIAL INTERIM PROPOSAL TO PLACE MX MISSILES IN EXISTING SILOS AND SAID OF THE OTHER PLANS STUDIED, DENSE PACK EMERGED AS "THE ONE WITH THE LEAST WARTS."

UPI 12-14-82 03:24 PES

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BC-CORRESPONDENTS 12-14

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7AM-CONGRESS-JOBS; BJT;600

7HOUSE MOVING TOWARD APPROVAL OF DEMOCRATIC JOBS BILL

7EDS: NOTE LANGUAGE IN QUOTE IN 5TH GRAF

7BY DAVID ESPO

7ASSOCIATED PRESS WRITER

WASHINGTON (AP) - THE DEMOCRATIC-CONTROLLED HOUSE, SCORNING A REPORTED VETO THREAT, MARCHED TOWARD APPROVAL TUESDAY OF A \$5.4 BILLION CHRISTMAS TIME JOBS BILL.

AIDES IN BOTH PARTIES PREDICTED THE HOUSE WOULD APPROVE THE PLAN EASILY - INCLUDING \$1 BILLION FOR PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS - AS PART OF LEGISLATION NEEDED TO KEEP THE GOVERNMENT FROM RUNNING OUT OF MONEY AT MIDNIGHT FRIDAY. THE REPUBLICAN-CONTROLLED SENATE HAS NOT YET ACTED ON THE RESOLUTION.

HOUSE DEMOCRATIC LEADER JIM WRIGHT OF TEXAS SAID IT WAS THE FIRST STEP TOWARD THE COUNTRY HELPING ITSELF OUT OF A "DEEP DEPRESSION."

BUT REP. SILVIO CONTE, R-MASS., REPORTED THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN WAS PREPARED TO VETO THE JOBS LEGISLATION EVEN IF IT MEANT SHUTTING DOWN THE GOVERNMENT.

"I DON'T GIVE A DAMN IF ITS FRIDAY NIGHT AND THE GOVERNMENT IS BROUGHT TO A STANDSTILL. I WON'T SIGN A (BILL) THAT HAS JOBS LEGISLATION IN IT," CONTE QUOTED THE PRESIDENT AS TELLING GOP LAWMAKERS AT A WHITE HOUSE MEETING.

THE HOUSE DEBATE CAME AS DEMOCRATS IN THE SENATE SOUGHT A VOTE ON A \$9.7 BILLION JOBS BILL OF THEIR OWN; ONE EVEN PARTY AIDES CONCEDED WAS DOOMED TO DEFEAT AT THE HANDS OF THE REPUBLICAN MAJORITY. THAT PLAN WAS EXPECTED TO COME UP AS AN AMENDMENT TO A BILL PROVIDING A NICKEL-A-GALLON INCREASE IN THE FEDERAL GASOLINE TAX; A MEASURE REAGAN SUPPORTED AFTER IT PICKED UP BIPARTISAN CONGRESSSINAL BACKING LAST MONTH. THAT BILL ALREADY HAS PASSED THE HOUSE AND SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADER HOWARD BAKER HAS PREDICTED SENATE PASSAGE LATER THIS WEEK.

IT WOULD PROVIDE \$5.5 MILLION FOR BRIDGE AND HIGHWAY REPAIR AND MASS TRANSIT IMPROVEMENTS.

THE GAS TAX BILL AND THE SPENDING BILL NEEDED TO FINANCE THE GOVERNMENT ARE THE MAJOR ITEMS OF UNFINISHED BUSINESS FOR THE 97TH CONGRESS. LEADERS IN BOTH HOUSES WERE CLINGING TO HOPES THEY COULD ADJOURN BY THE WEEKEND; BUT CONCEDED THE SESSION COULD SPILL OVER INTO CHRISTMAS WEEK.

DEMOCRATS IN BOTH HOUSES WOULD LIKE TO SECURE PASSAGE OF THEIR JOBS BILLS BEFORE THE SESSION ENDS; BUT THEIR PROSPECTS SEEMED REMOTE GIVEN REAGAN'S REPORTED OPPOSITION AND THE GOP MAJORITY IN THE SENATE.

HOUSE DEMOCRATS DRAFTED THEIR \$5.4 BILLION JOBS INITIATIVE AS A SUPPLEMENT TO THE GASOLINE TAX INCREASE; WHICH WOULD RAISE AN ESTIMATED \$5.5 BILLION A YEAR ON A MASSIVE PROGRAM OF JOBS-CREATING HIGHWAY AND MASS TRANSIT REPAIR.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLAN INCLUDES \$1 BILLION FOR PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS AND ANOTHER \$1 BILLION IN GRANTS FOR BIG CITIES AND URBAN COUNTIES. THE BALANCE OF THE MONEY WOULD BE SPREAD THROUGHOUT DOZENS OF FEDERAL PROGRAMS; FINANCING IMPROVEMENTS IN PUBLIC HOUSING; NATIONAL PARKS AND OTHER FACILITIES AND PROVIDING \$250 MILLION FOR ENERGY ASSISTANCE TO LOW-INCOME PEOPLE.



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MEMORANDUM FOR: DCI

You have with you the  
latest info on the Boland  
Amendment -- in your HPSCI  
book.



Date

14 Dec 82

FORM 5-75 101 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS

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